MOTHER EARTH

Vol. VI. MAY, 1911 No. 3

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EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - PUBLISHER
ALEXANDER BERKMAN - - - EDITOR

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Vol. VI **MAY, 1911** **No. 3**

TO OUR FRIENDS

A GOOD Samaritan has come forward with this generous proposal:

260 Greene Ave.
Brooklyn, N. Y., April 20th, 1911.

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING CO.,
55 West 28th Street, New York.

Companions:—I have the following offer to make to you:

I guarantee one hundred (100) subscribers, at $1.00 each, on the condition that you procure, within two months from date, four hundred (400) paid-up yearly subscriptions, renewals included.

Wishing you every success and hoping you will not find the task too difficult of accomplishment, believe me,

Yours and Anarchy's,
M. H. WOOLMAN.

We have accepted Comrade Woolman's offer, feeling confident that, with the aid of those interested in MOTHER EARTH, we can win the prize. It is up to you now, Comrades, to justify our confidence. Get your friends to subscribe to the magazine, or subscribe for them. And do not neglect to renew your own subscription, whether it has expired or not. Every renewal counts.

It may interest our readers and stimulate their efforts if we inform them, quite confidentially, that the fund of $500 is intended for the publication of the Autobiography by Alexander Berkman.

MURDEROUS DETECTIVE PLOTS

WHEN McKinley was shot in Buffalo, the police immediately began to "discover" a wide-spread conspiracy. The publishers of *Free Society* were arrested, together with several other comrades living in the same house, and subsequently also Emma Goldman. But the "terrible conspiracy" failed of discovery, and the arrested comrades finally had to be released.

A few weeks later a friend of the writer met on the street Captain Schuettler, who is considered in Chicago —probably because of his extraordinary ignorance—an expert in Anarchist matters. Half in jest my friend said to Schuettler: "You have evidently not exerted yourself as much in this case as during the Haymarket affair." Whereupon the police genius replied: "There was no money in it this time." Had there been as much money in the case as when Parsons, Spies, et al. were on trial, there would have perhaps been no trouble in discovering a conspiracy.

The ability of the detectives to make "discoveries" rises with the amount of money in sight. In Los Angeles a reward of over a hundred thousand dollars was offered after the explosion in the *Times* building, on October first, 1910. The pillars of society and their organizations were prepared to spend unlimited money to deliver the perpetrators into the hands of "justice."

Stimulated and inspired by the offer of the large reward, the detectives began to swarm like horse flies. So much money, and nothing to be discovered! Impossible. Something *had* to be discovered, at all cost. Besides, it was not only a question of money; the reputation of the detective bureaus was at stake. What a feather in their cap to have it said that only the ingenuity of the detectives could save the country.

The result of these calculations was the arrest of John J. McNamara, secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, with headquarters in Indianapolis. McNamara is charged by the detectives with being the head of a conspiracy responsible not only for the Los Angeles *Times* explosion, but also for numerous other acts of dynamiting. Two other men, Ortie McManigal and James W.

McNamara—brother of John J. McNamara—were arrested at Detroit. They are alleged to have caused the explosions at the behest of John McNamara.

The sole evidence against these men is the say-so of the detectives who claim to have discovered quantities of dynamite and numerous infernal machines. Of the existence of these the sleuths seem to have known by intuition or revelation. In every case it was the detectives of the Burns agency who unearthed the dynamite and who were the first to find the explosives. They had no difficulty whatever in discovering the various dynamite depots. In fact, they could have found them blindfolded, for the simple reason that they knew where they had planted the "stuff." Hence their cock-sureness of discovery. A large quantity of nitroglycerine the detectives found even in the basement of the building in which the offices of the Structural Iron Workers were located. They may soon be in a position to assure us that McNamara was wont to sleep on a bed of explosives and that he was in the habit of taking a stick of dynamite with his morning coffee.

The detectives themselves do not seem to feel overmuch confidence in the convincing power of their discoveries. Burns, the press informs us, is still in Indianapolis hunting for evidence. Fine methods in a really free country: first kidnap your man, by ruse and violence, and then hunt up evidence.

No less brilliant than their practice are the theories of the detectives. The important question that naturally arises is: What connection is there between Indianapolis and Los Angeles? What interest could the officials of the iron workers have in the explosion of the *Times* building at Los Angeles? To this question Detective Burns gives the ingenious answer: If McNamara had blown up only such plants in which the iron workers are interested, suspicion would have immediately been directed toward McNamara's organization. Therefore other plants also had to be dynamited. James B. McNamara—says Burns—was ordered to blow up the *Times* building. Why? Because Ortie McManigal had instructions to destroy the Llewellyn Iron Company works. It is as if a man, about to kill A, were first to kill B, in order to avoid suspicion regarding the killing

of A. That is the detective logic in the case of McNamara.

The spies evidently count on the credulity of the mob of good citizens and on the readiness of judges and juries to condemn representatives of labor accused of crime. The history of this country supplies many instances showing that such expectations are not without foundation. The process is simple. A list of all the explosions which have occurred during the last year in various parts of the country is prepared in the offices of the Burns agency and is then thundered into the world with the cry: Here, ladies and gentlemen, are the terrible crimes committed by McNamara and his fellows!

The situation is further illuminated by the fact that Burns has been glove in hand with Walter Drew, the representative of the National Erectors' Association. The latter is the organization of the plutocrats of the bridge and structural iron industry. By means of blacklisting, of Pinkertons and *provocateurs* they have for years been waging war against the Structural Iron Workers' Association. Their aim is to crush organized labor; they stand for the open shop, increased hours, and lower wages. The same ideal inspires the American Bridge Company, which is an integral part of the Steel Trust. A similar ambition is swelling the heart of General Otis, the proprietor of the Los Angeles *Times*. All these noble souls are united in a common cause, and they have plenty of money at their command. The detectives were intelligent enough to know what the masters wanted them to discover: a connection between the *Times* explosion and the labor unions.

Proofs for the existence of a conspiracy between plutocracy and pinkertonism to railroad representatives of labor to the penitentiary or send them to the gallows are much stronger and more convincing than the evidence of a dynamite plot on the part of the unions.

This plutocratic-pinkertonian cabal has found the hearty support of city and State authorities. The kidnapping of the three labor men and their illegal detention at Los Angeles has not been condemned or any reparation made. The detectives are always right, even when the law is against them. But labor is at fault, even

when the law prescribes that no extradition is admissible in such cases.

It is claimed by the detectives that Ortie McManigle has made a confession. So far it is uncertain whether the statement is based on truth. Nor is it of much consequence. A confession of this kind is fixed as easily as dynamite is planted. We have grown so accustomed to such "confessions" and to all manner of perjured testimony in cases of this character that they seem almost the normal thing. There is more than one Harry Orchard in this land.

The important thing in this connection is the attitude and spirit of labor. It is now up to them to call an imperative Halt! It is up to them to show by the energy of their protest and by their determined stand of solidarity that they will not suffer themselves to be browbeaten, driven, and slaughtered like abject slaves.

❦ ❦ ❦

THE RED BANNER

By GERALD MASSEY.

Fling out the red Banner! achievements immortal
Have yet to be won by the hands labor-brown;
Though few of us enter the proud promise-portal,
Yet wear it in thought like a glorious Crown!
O joy of the onset! sound trumpet! array us;
True hearts would leap up were all hell in our path;
Up, up from the slave-land; who stirreth to stay us,
Shall fall, as of old, in a Red Sea of wrath.

Fling out the red Banner, O Sons of the morning!
Young spirits awaiting to burst into wings,—
We stand shadow-crowned, but sublime is the warning,
All heaven's grimly hushed, and the Bird of Storm sings.
"All's well," saith the Sentry on Tyranny's tower,
While Hope by his watch-fire is grey and tear-blind;
Ay, all's well! Freedom's Altar burns, hour by hour,
Live brands for the fire-damp with which ye are mined.

❦ ❦ ❦

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

THE cover of this issue shows a game rooster mounted on a broken-down gallows and crowing into the world his triumphant battle-cry. The drawing, sketched by a French-Bohemian artist, symbolizes the chantecler call for the Coming Day.

On every hand there is evidence of the approach of dawn. Superstition and prejudice is disappearing; institutions grown evil with age are weakening, slowly dying. The existing is falling into decay. May it not be suffered to be patched up again, to mask it with the appearance of solidity and strength.

"Give the thing about to fall
The last and final blow."

The First of May—that is the chantecler cry of the oppressed. Its significance lay in being *the* day of the proletariat of the world. Indeed, it could have been a bold challenge to the powers of darkness. By an international general strike on that day the workers of the world could demonstrate how powerful is the army consciously and determinedly battling for its emancipation.

This spirit is still wofully lacking in the First of May demonstrations in America. More akin to it are the toilers of France. To them May Day represents the real purpose of the day as the harbinger of social reconstruction, the forerunner of the Social Revolution.

In Germany the First of May has become quite respectable. The Social Democracy—a State within a State—regulates and levels everything in the most thorough manner. One cannot help thinking of the machine-like German military drill when reading in the press reports that seventy-three May Day meetings took place in Berlin, each meeting passing the identical resolutions—unanimously, no doubt.

Very little significance has the First of May in England. It was in this land that Karl Marx drew his inspiration for the theory of the revolutionary class struggle. But O irony! in no country of Europe is there so little class consciousness as in England.

Only those that have an interest in misrepresentation can picture the First of May celebrations in America as great proletarian demonstrations. On the whole, May

Day bears the same character here as the legally established Labor Day. There is no sign of a general cessation of work. The toilers have not the courage to lay down their tools and risk their daily wage. Especially do the "genuine American" workingmen lack the spirit to do so.

In New York City it was mostly Jewish and some Italian unions that participated in the First of May daytime parade. The other organizations held their demonstrations in the evening, after a "fair day's" work. They should really feel ashamed of their pusilanimity, for their unions are of long standing, while the Jewish organizations are quite young, having arisen within comparatively recent years.

A May demonstration without suspension of work is no more significant than an ordinary mid-summer picnic.

One of the most disagreeable features of the parade was the sight of the police-lines and the prominence of the national flag. The latter especially disgraces the meaning of the day. If, as claimed, it is absolutely necessary to carry the banner of the Republic, it would be best to hire a few detectives for the purpose—they fit in well with the national honor. Honest workingmen should refuse to touch the rag.

* * *

IT is reported that John Mitchell, the notorious misleader of labor, having resigned his position with the Civic Federation, intends to go on a lecture tour. He is to carry to the toiling masses the gospel of "the identity of interests" between master and slave, and to impress them with the sanctity of contracts and the excellence of arbitration courts. Could any one but a dunce or a conscious heeler of capitalism expound this "Philosophy of Trade Unionism"?

Mitchell and his gospel must sound like mockery in the ears of labor. Harmony and arbitration, wherever officially established, have proved a snare and delusion for the toilers. In Australia, in Canada, in various parts of this country, and especially in the recent strikes in New York, all great labor struggles have suffered defeat because the workers, following the advice of the Mitchells, have permitted themselves to be ensnared in the trap of arbitration courts.

IN the story called "Mellonta Tanta" Edgar Allan Poe has the Man of the Future, of the year 2848, express himself about the American Republic, then long since buried beneath the dust of history. We quote a remarkable passage which may be characterized as thoroughly timely. "He (Pundit, a philosopher of the year 2848) has been occupied all day in the attempt to convince me that the ancient Americans *governed themselves!*—did ever anybody hear of such an absurdity? —that they existed in a sort of every-man-for-himself confederacy, after the fashion of the prairie dogs, that we read of in fable. . . . Every man 'voted,' as they called it. . . . It is related, however, that the first circumstance which disturbed, very particularly, the self-complacency of the philosophers who constructed this 'Republic,' was the startling discovery that universal suffrage gave opportunity for fraudulent schemes, by means of which any desired number of votes might at any time be polled, without the possibility of prevention or even detection, by any party that should be merely villainous enough not to be ashamed of the fraud. A little reflection upon this discovery sufficed to render evident the consequences, which were, that rascality *must* predominate—in a word, that a republican government *could* never be anything but a rascally one."

When one considers the corruption rampant in the legislative halls of Albany, Harrisburg, Columbus, Springfield, etc., the bank scandals all over the country, the Jekyll and Hyde adventures of our City Chamberlains, added to the venality of the courts and the arbitrary power of the Pinkertons, he will surely admit that Poe proved himself a true prophet.

* * *

THE attitude of Washington, all along inimical to the Mexican revolution, seems to be culminating in the sinister design to invade Mexico. To "establish order"—that is to say, to suppress the revolution and give American plutocrats "greater opportunities," is the object of the proposed invasion. The cry of "Anarchy in Mexico" is counted upon to enthuse the good citizen to play the rôle of gendarme to the Mexican tyrant.

But whatever the ultimate action of the Federal government, organized labor should lose no time in voicing

its unanimous protest against the preparations now being made by the authorities of Washington to drown the revolution in blood and aid the régime of barbarism in its unspeakable oppression and tyranny of a much-suffering people.

* * *

SECRETARY OF STATE KNOX seems much concerned over the preservation of the original drafts of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, now resting in the State archives of Washington. He has ordered them transferred to a safer receptacle.

In vain. The paper indeed may be preserved a while longer, but the spirit of the Declaration and of the Constitution has long since decayed. Moths and mice may be kept away from the documents, but the strangling hand of law-giver and lawyer has done its work.

* * *

OUR law-givers at Washington are growing pious. Recently they have decided that in future the benediction with which the Chaplain opens the legislative sessions should be made part of the Congressional records.

With this act of great piety our rulers probably expect to bribe the good Lord that he may close his eyes to their acts, designed, as they are, to wrong the people and increase their burdens and misery.

* * *

TWO Pinkertons have been honored by the City of New York with important positions on the police force. The pinkertonizing of the commonwealth, of "public safety," will soon have advanced far enough to justify the paraphrase of the motto of the Republic: A government of the pinkertons, by the pinkertons, for the pinkertons.

* * *

A YOUNG woman, a Catholic, who recently shot her husband because he flirted with another female, said in explanation of her deed: "I killed my husband to save his soul." The good woman is evidently a true daughter of the Mother Church. Has not the latter—wherever she had the power—killed, quartered, and burned the bodies of heretics and witches to save their souls and add greater glory to God?

THE suggestion has been made in the New York *Globe* that a private subscription be started for Andrew Toth, the poor workingman recently released from the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania after he had innocently served twenty years on the perjured testimony of Carnegie's spies. Toth has grown old and feeble in prison; his long incarceration has incapacitated him for earning his livelihood. No wonder he has expressed the wish to return to prison: there he was sure at least of a little bread and a roof over his head.

The case is a characteristic illustration of charity. Neither the State nor Carnegie concerns himself with the fate of his victim. Thus does the highway robber leave his prey lying helpless in the road, indifferent whether he perish with hunger and cold.

No State is powerful enough, no man rich enough to compensate Toth for the misery he has suffered during those long years in prison. But one thing they *could* do: they could easily save him from starvation. The crudest conscience should have moved them to do so. But even this little they failed to do. They know no shame.

* * *

SUICIDE because of unemployment, poverty, and resultant despondency, is an every-day item in the press. Being matters of such common occurrence, a few lines suffice to report them. On the other hand, whole columns are devoted to the coming coronation of the parasite on the throne of Great Britain. Page after page relates the fabulous sums American millionaires are preparing to invest upon the occasion. One estimate gives thirty-five millions as the amount to be spent by the plutocrats of the Republic.

London is the most suitable place for such incredible waste of the coined blood of the people. According to recent statistics the number of suicides in England during 1910 was 125, 52 of which took place in the City of London.

What better place for the insane expenditure of billions?

THE SONG OF THE WAGE SLAVE

By ERNEST JONES.

The land it is the landlord's,
The trader's is the sea,
The ore the usurer's coffer fills—
But what remains for me?
The engine whirls for master's craft,
The steel shines to defend,
With labor's arms, what labor raised,
For labor's foe to spend.
The camp, the pulpit, and the law
For rich men's sons are free;
Theirs, theirs the learning, art, and arms—
But what remains for me?

The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow,
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make that future NOW.

We bear the wrong in silence,
We store it in our brain;
They think us dull, they think us dead,
But we shall rise again:
A trumpet through the lands will ring;
A heaving through the mass;
A trampling through their palaces
Until they break like glass:
We'll cease to weep by cherished graves,
From lonely homes we'll flee;
And still, as rolls our million march,
Its watchword brave shall be—

The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow,
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make the future NOW.

COMMUNISM THE BASIS OF LIBERTY

By MAX BAGINSKI.

WERE it possible for some one to secure full control of the air, leaving mankind the alternative of paying tribute or strangling for want of breath, we should all of us become the serfs of the air monopoly. We should be forced to comply with its conditions, or die. Our dependence would be most absolute. This unbearable situation would be further aggravated by irony and scorn if the constitution of the land contained the solemn proviso: "All citizens are equal before the law; their liberty must not be abridged by special privileges." Could anyone but a fool believe in this constitution-guaranteed liberty, always remembering the command of the air monopolist: Submit or die! The liberty of choosing between submission and strangulation is but a two-edged slavery with destruction at either end.

It is this kind of liberty that the people of the "most progressive countries" enjoy. Instead of air read food, shelter, clothing, and you have the same terrible dependence of the people on the monopolists of land, production, and money. The existence of the great majority is to-day made possible only by their slavish submission to the conditions of these masters of the earth.

Private property with its thousand and one corrupting influences is to-day the ruling power on earth. It dictates to the propertyless masses the compulsory statutes of their existence. To disobey those statutes, to refuse to submit or to sacrifice one's independence, means the loss of the means of existence. That is the punishment visited upon those who, though poor, strive to preserve their manhood and their individuality.

But—unfortunately? fortunately?—almost everyone adapts himself to the slavery of existence, even though many suffer, hesitate, tremble, and grit their teeth. Some go insane; many—men and women without number—are crippled bodily or mentally, or both; others—and those by no means the worst—resort to suicide. Statistics throw considerable light upon these results of our profit-civilization.

The "justice" of this civilization depends neither upon courts nor judges; it works "of itself," quietly, but is

more merciless and inexorable than the most hard-hearted judge. It is the fate of the modern man under the rule of a production-system which is not intended to satisfy the needs of mankind, but which blindly works for the enrichment of the few.

Whether you work with your hands or your brain, if you refuse to offer yourself for sale, this "inner justice" will immediately reduce your rations, will make your clothing and shoes look shabby, will rob you of shelter and home, and finally deprive you even of the small means necessary to secure mere bread or a ten-cent lodging. Before long you will have become an outcast, because you have offended against the discipline of this order which demands absolute economic submission.

Therefore try hard to sell yourself somehow or other; else you're lost and you will become a pauper, or—if you possess courage enough—you will turn criminal.

Sell your labor, ability, and intelligence; lie, cheat, and swindle for your existence. What matters manhood, personality, self-respect. You are a mere cog in the machine of the "higher powers"; you are a bond serf who hates his task, or—if you are a brain worker—an intellectual helot who propagates opinions not his own, and teaches "facts" he knows nothing of, but which in some way serve the interests of his bread-givers. All this must be borne if you are to "do well' in the world. Why not? Must not the prostitute also follow her business? The same conditions which force her to sell her body, cause also the journalist to write what he does not believe, the teacher to teach what he himself refuses to accept, or the physician to perform operations to which he would not submit himself.

The difference between the slavery of former days and the existence-bondage of to-day is that formerly the slaves were forcibly driven to the market, while the serfs of to-day offer themselves for sale of "their own free will." It is ironically called "free competition"; but behind each miserable free competitor stand want, hunger, and anxiety, more effective and compelling than the slave-driver's whip.

The marketability of men and things impresses upon society the character of prostitution. It *is* prostitution

to be forced, for mere existence, to sell oneself, physically or mentally, to manufacturers or publishers.

Under such conditions who can speak of the dignity of labor? Work which is forced and hateful, and of the products of which the worker is deprived, is shameful and unworthy of the thinking man.

This boundless general venality necessarily comprises all the vice, evil, and crime which is the despair of the moralist and reformer, and which serve as a text to exhort man to honesty, righteousness, and neighborly love. Empty phrases! Mankind does not live up to the moral laws laid down on paper, because the very conditions of existence are based on the principle of taking advantage of our fellow-men.

In place of the domination of private property, in place of the shameless tyranny of profit, we would put Communism. Its basic principle is, first of all, to guarantee to each man the right of existence, making the necessaries of life as accessible and free as air and sunshine. Without this fundamental right man is a pariah, a pauper at the mercy of those who own the means of existence.

The propertyless masses forever plead with the lords of the earth for compassion, for mercy and reforms, instead of depriving them of their robber-monopoly and proclaiming the earth the free homestead and storehouse of mankind. It is just as if the calves would plead with the tanner not to tan their skins too deep a hue. The tanners would ignore their plea, as the owners of the earth will continue their usury in human flesh so long as they are not deprived of their monopoly of property.

Is it not the bitterest irony that under the domination of sacred private property the majority of mankind lack all property? Under Communism, which strives to abolish private possession, there would be no millionaires, billionaires, or stockholders, but every one would enjoy the means necessary to a wholesome life. If we wished to express it in a paradox we should say: only Communism will secure to man the possession of the earth.

Under Communism work will not be for profit but for use. The products of free co-operative labor will not be stupidly handed over to speculation, but would be

directly at the disposal of the consumer. Production and consumption would go hand in hand, eliminating the parasitism of the middle-man and trader. There would be neither room nor desire for "cold storage," to create artificial scarcity of necessaries, to advance prices for the enrichment of the speculator. Shoes, clothing, and other necessary articles will then not be manufactured for the trade, but for the needs of the community, for the men, women, and children requiring those articles. Agriculture and cattle raising will not be for the purpose of giving some speculator a corner on the products at the cost of human misery and want, but for the sake of human well-being, to satisfy the physical needs of the people. Under such a social arrangement men would no longer be the miserable products of material conditions; they would possess the power and intelligence to order society in harmony with individual independence, and cease to be the helpless subjects of environment.

On this basis of assured existence individual liberty will flourish. For now man need no more prostitute his labor and ability, each free to follow his inclination and enjoy life to his full capacity.

Labor, science, love will no more be degraded by being sold to the highest bidder. They are freed from servitude. The place of the institutions of force and of the whip of hunger is now taken by the production-associations of free men and women.

We call ourselves Anarchists Communists because we consider the economics of Communism as the indispensible fundamental condition for social harmony and for the liberty and independence of the individual.

* * *

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

* * *

FREE COMMUNISM—Voluntary economic co-operation of all towards the needs of each. A social arrangement based on the principle: To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability.

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE STATE

By Ross WINN.

GOVERNMENTALISTS, authoritarians, believers in force and violence—worshippers at the shrine of brute force, never tire of repeating the assertion that government is an absolute concomitant of civilization, and the only force whereby social order is to be upheld. However, even a very casual examination of the various forms of public thought reveals the surprising fact that there is an universal mistrust of government, and from nowhere do we hear a note of satisfaction with the workings of our political machinery. In other words, the governmentalists themselves are dissatisfied with the results so far obtained from this paragon, and from nowhere do we hear ought but denunciations of official corruption and protests against the established authorities.

An institution that never did give satisfaction, that works badly at all times, and which is constantly being changed and reformed cannot be regarded as a success. The governmental dupes themselves offer the strongest evidence that the political state is not only not a success, but is in truth the most gigantic failure of all human experiment. For it is the worshippers of the State who are continually trying to reform it, and to get rid of this or that evil, although the elimination of one evil in the State generally produces two additional evils to take the place of the one that has been eliminated. At the present time there is, everywhere in this country, a general dissatisfaction and discontent among the people, all of which is directed against the various governments, State and national. Nowhere is there a government that is giving satisfaction. But the people do not know what to do, and in their blindness they vainly seek to rid themselves of the evils of authority by substituting one political party for another, as though one tyrant can be any better than another.

The government of man by man has been tried for thousands of years. Whatever its form, its achievements have always been the same. Every government that has existed up to the present has been an instrument for the aggrandisement of the few and the exploitation of the

masses. To-day the masses have reached an intellectual development that makes the foundations of government extremely insecure. It is this general diffusion of knowledge among the people that results in the present universal agitation for governmental reforms. But, as an evil cannot be reformed, save by being destroyed, so all attempts to reform and improve the political state by substituting one set of rulers for another, or by changing its form, must always fail.

Anarchist ideals have not yet reached the masses. But those ideals so dominate the best minds and the highest thought of the world that their influence is reaching far and wide, unconsciously and unperceived. In the dawn of a new conscience and a new philosophy of life, now breaking upon the world's heart and brain, the political State is in the throes of its final dissolution. Ignorance, spurred on by power and privilege, shrieks in vain against the new order, Anarchy, whose herald star is rising in the east. Government is in the grasp of awakened thought.

THE "AMERICAN SOVEREIGN"

(With apologies to the literary executors of O. Khayyam.)

Into the Polling-place, and why not knowing,
Nor whence, like water, willy-nilly, flowing,
And out again, when he has made the Cross,
Back to his fruitless, ill-paid labor going.

He, in his youth, did eagerly frequent
Old party rallies, heard great argument,
About the Robber Tariff, and the Trusts,
And came away, no wiser than he went.

With them the seed of Piffle did he sow,
In hopes of some cheap job, helped make it grow,
And this is all the Working Class has reaped—
Their efforts help their leaders get the Dough.

THE MARTYRS OF JAPAN

FOLLOWING upon the judicial murder of our comrades in Japan there took place in New York, on January 29, a large mass meeting to pay tribute to the memory of our martyrs. The meeting closed with a street demonstration, during which three comrades were arrested. To meet the situation the Kotoku Protest Conference organized a Defence Committee; its object was twofold: to aid the arrested comrades and to send financial assistance to the widows and orphans of our Tokio martyrs. For the latter purpose the treasurer of the Defence Fund communicated with comrades in Japan, receiving in reply the following letter from Dr. Tokijiro Kato. The latter is the leader of the revolutionary movement of Japan and one of its most intellectual men. His many translations have helped to familiarize his countrymen with modern Western thought, his chief work being the rendering into Japanese of Bebel's "Woman: Her Past, Present, and Future." Dr. Kato was also a delegate to the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, in 1907. The letter of Dr. Kato explains itself. It may be pointed out, however, that it supplies the first authentic information regarding the names and personalities of our martyred comrades.

Tokyo, March 26, 1911.

MR. A. BERKMAN.

Dear Comrade: I have just received your kind letter, informing me that you are going to send us the money collected for the families of the martyrs and also for the comrades still in prison. I, representing here the whole Japanese Socialist and Anarchist movement, deeply thank you for the fraternal sympathy. And I ask you that you will send me the money which I promise to dispose according to your instructions. Some of the families are very poor and want much help. The comrades in prison want many good books for reading.

As to the question what parties our martyrs belonged to, it is very difficult to answer. Some of them declared themselves as Anarchists-Communists. Some of them simply as Socialists. And some others said that Com-

munism, Socialism and Anarchism are one and same thing, as Dietzgen maintained. In short, they were the most radical revolutionists in Japan. The names of the murdered comrades are as follows:

Denjiro Kotoku (not a doctor), Journalist and Essayist. Age 41.
Seinosuke Oishi, a doctor, studied in America. Age 45.
Qudo Uchiyama, a Budhist priest. Age 32.
Tadao Niimura, a small landowner; 25.
Uichita Matsuo, a landowner and journalist; 35.
Uichiro Niimi, a journalist; 32.
Suga Kanno, a journalist, sweetheart of Kotoku; 31.
Umpei Morichika, formerly an official of local government; originally a small farmer; 31.
Rikisaku Furukawa, a horticulturist; 30.
Takichi Miyashita, a merchant; 42.
Kenshi Okumiya, a very old revolutionist; 55.
Heishiro Naruishi, a law student; 25.

I have just received the February number of MOTHER EARTH from my friend living in San Francisco. I have very much to say about this affair and about the future of our movement. But I can't do that for the present. Our letters are secretly broken by the officials. We have no secrecy of correspondence under the so-called "Imperial Constituion." Yours fraternally,

TOKIJIRO KATO.

Near Shimbashi, Tokyo.

* * *

The widows and orphans of our martyred Japanese comrades are looking to their friends in America to come to their aid. The need is great. May the response be generous.

A total of $271.82 has been collected by the Defence Committee (see p. 93). So far only twenty-five dollars have been used for the initial legal expenses in the case of the comrades arrested at the Kotoku demonstration. The trial for unlawful assembly, which took place last week, resulted in the discharge of one man, while the other two are held in the Tombs, pending sentence. Of the money on hand one hundred dollars has been forwarded to Dr. Kato. The contribution books are still open for donations, but comrades holding subscription lists are

kindly requested to turn them over, with money collected, to the treasurer of the Defence Committee.

A. B.

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ON THE TRAIL

The present tour of Comrade Emma Goldman has been more than ordinarily strenuous, full of obstacles and trouble. For various reasons she could not prepare her monthly Odyssey for this issue of the magazine. Just before going to press we received the following telegram from our Comrade:

San Diego, Cal., May 9th, 1911.

The trail has been unusually difficult this month. Will therefore only convey the wonderful spirit in Los Angeles which is preparing to meet the dastardly conspiracy of capitalism. Verily the prophecy of August Spies that "Our silence will speak louder than the voices strangled to-day" is coming true. The voices speak loud and powerful in protest against the renewed attempt to throttle labor. To-day neither money nor power will succeed in repeating the crime of Eighteen Eighty-seven. The workers represent a mighty wall of splendid human solidarity. The Eternal Spirit of Revolution is at work everywhere, shaping the future as never before. Of the heroism now manifested in Mexico, of our own little hardships, I will write next month.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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THREE YEARS

Report of the Manager

By BEN L. REITMAN.

IT is now three years since I joined "Our Lady of Sorrow" in her work. When I first attempted to arrange a meeting for Emma Goldman in Chicago, I did not know what the Anarchist propaganda was like. I only knew that whomever the police hounded, persecuted, and attempted to suppress, was my friend. But after three years in the movement I sign with Kipling, "Oh God, what things are there, we have not done."

There are so many things of interest to our readers, that it is difficult to know where to begin. Whatever else Emma Goldman's life may be, it is never dull or monotonous, and any one who labors with her will have a choice variety of experiences.

The last three years found me at about five hundred of Emma Goldman's meetings, and there were no two alike. It is the exception and not the rule, that meetings are arranged in advance for us. I usually get to a town 48 to 60 hours in advance of the lecture. Many of our successful meetings have been arranged in 24 hours, but all of them are attended by much worry and excitement.

Emma Goldman is one of the few lecturers in the radical movement who can draw a fair-sized crowd, with a small notice in the daily paper, and a hand bill "Emma Goldman lectures to-night."

We have had all kinds of meeting places, some of her lectures were held in leading theatres, such as the El Paso Opera House, the Spokane Theatre, and the Illinois Theatre. It may be news to many to know that it is possible to book Emma Goldman at some of the leading theatres on a percentage basis, but it was only occasionally that we had the theatre; we usually spoke in one of the 57 varieties of lodge-halls. The Eagles Hall, the Owls Hall, the Elks, Odd Fellows, Masons, and most of the fraternal bodies with the exception of the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic organization, have sheltered us. We have frequently had the armory and the G. A. R. halls, now and then the voice of Anarchy has been heard in the church, and E. G. has had several audiences in Court Houses, sometimes as a prisoner and at other times as a lecturer. We have had barns, vacant lots, back rooms of saloons, and houses of the comrades for meeting places.

It is interesting to note that we have seldom had labor halls—there are not a half dozen of them in America that can be rented for Anarchist meetings, and yet many of the comrades complain that we are getting away from the working element.

Recently in St. Paul we rented the Federation of Labor hall. The secretary of that organization is a liberal man, but when the various unions which hold their

meetings in Federation hall learned that their sanctum sanctorum had been rented to an Anarchist, they held an indignation meeting and threatened to withdraw from the central body if Emma Goldman would be allowed to speak in their Holy Temple.

It is seldom that we have succeeded in renting a hall that was controlled by the Socialist party, and yet it is supposed that the Socialists believe in equal rights for all.

During the time that I have been with E. G., about a half million cards have been distributed announcing our meetings, most of them containing some Anarchist quotation or definition.

We usually charge an admission, but a large per cent. of our audience come in free. The I. W. W. boys, soldiers, and the unemployed are cordially invited to our meetings. It is not unusual to see a majority who have not paid admission.

We have had a most wonderful variety of audiences. They are not generally as large as one would expect, averaging about 250; but our meetings do not always pay expenses. Many of our friends have complained that E. G. lecture tours are a money making scheme. I wish all those who think that the little lady Anarchist has a fine time traveling around the country would see her dragging two large bundles to the train after a meeting. No matter how tired and weary herself, or how small and indifferent the audience may be, she feels that she must lecture. She must be up early in the morning to meet newspaper men, to talk to the comrades, write letters and articles. That inner urge that drives E. G. on is inexplicable; she herself cannot understand why she will not stop and rest, but the great joy of carrying the gospel of Anarchy to a new town, or amongst old comrades, is always forcing her on. Emma Goldman has been the first to give a public lecture on Anarchy in a number of towns.

I have often said on the platform that there are few organizations or industries that have so much ability, love of work, and brains as the MOTHER EARTH family, and yet get so little return for their work. We all seem to be working for the railroad company, for hall keepers and printers. Oh, that insatiable monster, the printer.

that worries the life out of Berkman and Emma; he is always threatening to hold up MOTHER EARTH, the book, or some pamphlet, unless our debt is reduced. At no time since I joined the MOTHER EARTH group has there been sufficient money in the treasury to pay outstanding debts.

We have had remarkable audiences, though not as many workingmen as one would expect; and yet no efforts were spared to bring out the proletarians. Many professional men and women come to our meetings, and you will always find the town crank there. Strange to say, we do not attract a great many Socialists. The good Socialists are like the Catholics; they only go to their own church. Often the Socialists deliberately boycott us. I hope none of our readers will ever take it for granted that a town with a large Socialist vote necessarily means a radical town.

We are now attracting a large number of students and professors who make up a large part of our audiences in college towns. We frequently have the governor and his staff at our meetings, and in cities where the law-makers sojourn, they come out to hear the woman who would do away with all law. I have seen as many as twenty-five senators and members of the legislature at one of E. G.'s lectures. It is not infrequent to see the mayor and city officials at these meetings. The police are always there in numbers from one to two hundred, but they do not count, as they never pay admission.

We get very few colored people, but quite a number of Japanese and Chinese at our meetings.

Miss Goldman's lectures attract a large number of women and are followed by a wide discussion and a great many questions. There is always the fellow who tries to explain that the Socialist party is a revolutionary body, but that the Socialists want to give the ballot a fair trial. The most frequent questions are: Was Czolgosz an Anarchist? What is the Anarchist's position in regard to violence? What is the difference between Anarchism and Socialism? Is not drink responsible for a great deal of harm? How can we live without law? Do you practice free love?

An important part of our work is the sale of literature. I think that more literature is sold at Emma Goldman's

meetings than at any other radical meetings in America, with the possible exception of the Lewis lectures in Chicago. From 50 to 500 books and pamphlets are disposed of at each gathering. As much as 1,000 different Anarchist publications have been left in a city after a series of lectures.

The most interesting part of our work, in the last three years, has been our fight for free speech. It used to be a common occurrence for some autocratic mayor or bull-headed chief of police to stop Emma Goldman. While it is only a few weeks since a Mayor and Chief of Police stopped her in Staunton, Ill., such incidents seldom occur now. The average mayor and police official will think twice before suppressing Emma Goldman.

We have distributed thousands of free speech pamphlets. We have won successful free speech fights in Chicago, Buffalo, Indianapolis, Cheyenne, Columbus, New Haven, and many other towns. The active members of the Free Speech Committee, Theodore Schroeder, Leonard D. Abbott, Alden Freeman, and Dr. E. B. Foote, have been a great aid to us in our fight. The campaign for our right to speak cost several thousand dollars.

I have not found the Anarchist propaganda particularly dangerous, for I have spent less time in jail during the last three years than usual. We were only arrested a few times, and outside of a week in jail in San Francisco, a night in Bellingham, and a few hours in Cheyenne, Brooklyn, and Seattle, we have not enjoyed the bounty of the State. Only once did I feel as if I had been disgraced. That was when we were cajoled into attempting to get an injunction against the Philadelphia police. But the stars were good, and nothing occurred to decrease our contempt for god and man-made laws.

As I know nothing about the Anarchist propaganda previous to the time when I met the disturber of the police three years ago, I cannot compare it to any other period; but I do know that the Anarchist philosophy and Emma Goldman are becoming less and less misrepresented as the days roll by. Looking over a thousand columns of newspaper clippings about our meetings and interviews, one would be surprised at the fair-

ness and accuracy with which, as a rule, she has been treated. The papers are just as fair to Emma Goldman as to any public character. The four hundred editorials about her work, although somewhat antagonistic, yet contain little bitterness or vituperation. It is only the Socialist press which deliberately misrepresents her and her work. It is less difficult for the Socialists to get news into the Hearst papers than it is for the Anarchists to get news in the Chicago *Daily Socialist,* or the *Appeal to Reason.*

In traveling about the country I usually visit the libraries and find from ten to twenty-five books on Anarchy in every library. In some of them I have seen as many as fifty and one hundred books listed under Anarchy. Such books as Elzbacher's *Anarchism,* Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread,* Proudhon's *What is Property?* Bakunin's *God and the State,* Emma Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays,* and MOTHER EARTH can be found in some of the libraries. Many of the leading book stores throughout the country are handling E. G.'s new book. It was a delightful surprise to walk through a large department store in St. Louis and find *Anarchism and Other Essays* marked $1.00 net.

I feel confident that, no matter what happens in America, the philosophy of Anarchy will always stand out as a beacon light, leading men and women on to greater freedom. I feel that Emma Goldman's tours, more than anything else, have brought Anarchism in all of its beauty before the American people. I also feel that I have justified my existence in having been the manager of these lecture tours during the past three years.

* * *

EMMA GOLDMAN'S BOOK

By WM. C. OWEN.

"IF we keep our country conservative," said the dying Archbishop Ryan, "no country will be so great as this." It was the voice of one of the Church's magnates, of a champion of authority, of an upholder of things as they are, of a devotee of fixity, that chimera to which all privilege adheres.

"The difference," says William Bailie, in his preface

to the *Life of Josiah Warren,* "between Anarchist theories to-day and the political iconoclasm of the past lies in this, that the modern theory, while condemning the evils inherent in the State, disclaims any intention of reforming it or re-creating it in a new form." It is the voice of Emma Goldman, resounding in her *Anarchism and Other Essays,** and of every intelligent Anarchist; for between Freedom and Authority no patching-up is possible.

Would you expect Emma Goldman to be good at patching-up? I think not, and in the two hundred and twenty-five pages of her book you will find no talk of compromise. There are twelve essays, grappling with as many phases of the social question, and in each the attack is so direct that the simplest cannot fail to understand what the author means. That I take to be true, as opposed to bogus, literary art.

Emma Goldman wastes no words on the obvious, and even to Anarchism itself but one chapter is allotted. Indeed, when it has been stated that Anarchism wishes each individual to be master of himself, and that this will remain impossible as long as monopoly rule—mental, economic, or political—continues, there is little left to say. Similarly, when it is explained that Socialism wishes the people to be the government, and as such to administer the collective wealth collectively for the benefit of all, the story has been told, so far as basic principles are concerned. It is evident at once that we are faced by two widely differing conceptions, Socialism calling for democratic all-rule and Anarchism for individual self-rule. All this can, and should be, stated in a nutshell.

But to trace the working out in actual life of these conflicting ideals; to show how the one leads to the multiplication of laws and the other to their abolition; to illustrate the contraction of personal liberty that the one entails and the larger life that will follow the adoption of the other; to explain the bearing these opposed philosophies must have on the pressing problems of the hour—to do this is to undertake at once the most necessary and laborious of tasks. It is this to which Emma

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* ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS. Emma Goldman. Mother Earth Publishing Association, New York. $1.00.

Goldman has bent herself, dismissing the abstract with the barest bow and plunging into the riddles of the present. Thus, in her second chapter she tackles the all-important subject of "Minorities versus Majorities" and says:

"Not because I do not feel with the oppressed, the disinherited of the earth; not because I do not know the shame, the horror, the indignity of the lives the people lead, do I repudiate the majority as a creative force for good. Oh, no, no! But because I know so well that as a compact mass it has never stood for justice or equality. It has suppressed the human voice, subdued the human spirit, chained the human body. As a mass its aim has always been to make life uniform, gray, and monotonous as the desert. As a mass it will always be the annihilator of individuality, of free initiative, of originality." She then quotes approvingly Emerson's declaration that the masses do not need to be flattered but to be schooled, divided and broken up, that individuals may be drawn out of them.

The chapter on "Minorities versus Majorities" necessarily followed that on Anarchism, for majority rule is the rock on which Socialism inevitably shivers into kindling wood. Next comes a chapter on "The Psychology of Violence"; one that required courage to write and was imperatively needed. The attitude toward violence assumed by our daily press is perhaps the crowning hypocrisy of the age, since no one in his senses believes that the executioners of the Grand Duke Sergius, of Plehve or of Canovas del Castillo—responsible for the torturing of Anarchists—threw away their lives for the fun of dying. Still less is it conceivable that they were merely bloodthristy ruffians; a theory to which their records invariably gave the lie.

With equal hypocrisy do we still refuse to look the prison question in the face, turning our backs on the obvious fact that men driven to despair will stick at nothing, and here again Emma Goldman thrusts the nauseous truth beneath our noses. Naturally also patriotism is handled in remorseless fashion.

The woman question, in one or other of its forms, is dealt with in four essays, from a standpoint already sufficiently indicated; that on "Woman Suffrage" explaining

clearly that majority rule when exercised by either sex is inherently indefensible and therefore incapable of giving permanent relief.

The chapter on "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism" immediately precedes those devoted to "The Traffic in Women" and "Woman Suffrage," and goes to the heart of the sex question, especially as regards prostitution, respecting which the author says: "Prostitution, although hounded, imprisoned, and chained, is nevertheless the greatest triumph of Puritanism. It is its most cherished child, all hypocritical sanctimoniousness notwithstanding. The prostitute is the fury of our country, sweeping across the 'civilized' countries like a hurricane, and leaving a trail of disease and disaster. The only remedy Puritanism offers for this ill-begotten child is greater repression and more merciless persecution." For my part I am looking eagerly for the publication of a book that shall demonstrate the decisive part that so-called "vice" is playing in the midwifery of that new birth with which society is now in labor.

I have passed by the essay on "Francisco Ferrer: The Modern School." It contains much valuable and generally unknown information on that specific subject, and necessarily attacks the fountain-head of authority—around which all the would-be minor authorities are marshalling their forces—the Church of Rome. Few people understand the desperate effort Rome is making to recoup herself in the United States for the enormous losses she has sustained in Europe, or the success which is attending that effort.

On the concluding essay, "The Drama," I pass no criticism, for the author is known as a specialist in that department. She writes with the enthusiasm of one who is firmly satisfied that the drama is "the leaven of radical thought and the disseminator of new values." But, inasmuch as some discussion has arisen recently among Anarchists as to the worth of indirect propaganda, I wish to add that, in my judgment at least, the Anarchist movement is of necessity one of permeation; thrusting its tentacles into every phase of life and seeking to bring about the one thing imperatively needed—a profoundly radical thought-revolution.

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KOTOKU DEFENCE COMMITTEE FUND*

H. Billingham, 1.00; Sanne, 1.00; A. Crivello (returned from Prison Fund), 1.85; Balance, Sec. Kotoku Protest Conference, 31c.; V. Fack, 1.00; Sanne, 2.00; E. Luftig, 50c.; B. Pasternack, 1.00; Dr. C. L. Andrews, 2.00; Numia Seldes, Pittsburg, 2.00; A. Fraser, 1.00; Mrs. Stokes, 5.00; List No. 18, 1.75; J. Handler, 2.00; Dinkovitz, 2.00; Latin Marine Firemen, 5.00; Michailovitch, 1.00; J. Vilarino, 1.00; J. Vidal, 1.00; J. Martinez, 50c.; S. Brage, 50c.; E. Kern, Irvington, N. J., 1.00; S. Gelus, Whitinsville, Mass., 1.00; Ch. Sciarini, Dalzell, Ill., 50c.; Per Roth & Baville, collected, 8.00; Carl Schmidt, Detroit (per E. G.), 5.00; Emma Clausen, Detroit, 1.00; per Crivello, N. Y., 5.50; I. Cline, 2.00; List No. 53, per Billingham, 3.25; L. Abbott, 1.00; List No. 31, per F. Guss, 3.50; L. Bailin, 25c.; C. Takahashi, Chi., 50c.; Br. 86 A. R., N. Y., 2.00; Painters' Local No. 499, N. Y., 5.00; Michailovitch, 1.25; per E. G., collection at meeting, 16.32; List No. 60 and collection, per Billingham, 11.29; I. Green, Malden, Mass., 1.50; List Nos. 33 and 52, Stein & Goldstein, 8.50; List No. 1, Michailovitch, 4.53; List No. 22, Vidal, 1.10; List No. 28, Vilarino, 6.40; List No. 2, Brown, 85c.; List No. 51, Weiss, 1.50; List No. 23, Woolman, 2.00; List No. 27, Handler, 2.10; F. Jaworski, Steel, O., 1.00; Collection, Chicago meeting, per E. Goldman, 19.50; Lists No. 61 and 70, per F. Guss, 17.90; Roth, collection, 5.00; Hebrew Bookbinders, per Luftig, 2.00; Sanne, collection, 75c.; List No. 38, Luftig, 1.25; List No. 11, W. Beraneck, Bridgeport, O., 2.25; F. Kraemer, Minneap., 1.50; Br. 50, A. R., 50c.; Cigarmakers No. 140, 1.00; Br. 22, Arb. Kr. and St. Kasse, Newark, N. J., 2.00; E. Besselman, San Diego, Cal., 1.00; H. Compton, Dayton, O., 2.00; A. Salorino, 50c.; per J. Boquet, 2.75; W. E. Jackson, Phila., 5.00; O. Weik, Colville, Wash., collection, 8.00; A Friend, Peru, Ill., 25c.; Br. 399, A. R., 1.00; Dr. W. Heimbecker, 1.00; I. Finkelstein, 50c.; J. Doloff, 1.00; I. Lynn, 2.00; Br. 32, A. R., Chicago, 1.00; J. Roman, 40c.; G. Filippone, collection, 2.00; Eliot White, 1.00; M. Polsky, 1.90; J. Poppers, Chicago, 1.00; List No. 16, per S. Sivin, 1.75; Mrs. Seldes, Pittsburg, 1.50; Entertainment, per Mrs. N. Seldes, Pittsburg, 51.37; Total, 271.82.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
Treasurer Defence Committee.

BOOKS RECEIVED

NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIETY. Edward Carpenter. A. C. Fifield, London.

STATE-SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM. Benj. R. Tucker. A. C. Fifield, London.

A HAND-BOOK OF THE MILLENNIUM. Chas. L. Brewer, Los Angeles, Cal.

WHO WROTE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE? Wm. M. van der Weyde. Thomas Paine National Historical Ass'n, New York.

A SYNTHESIS OF NEW THOUGHT. L. Emerick, Jacksonville, Ill.

EL PROLETARIADO EN MARCHA. Anselmo Lorenzo. Cultura Proletaria, New York.

LE INDUSTRI NAZIONALI. P. Kropotkin. Novatore, New York.

ANTINATALE LIBERO TANCREDI. Novatore, New York.

ANARCHISMO E DEMOCRAZIA. Novatore, New York.

SCIENCE AND HEALTH. Bruce Calvert. Griffith, Indiana.

ASPECTO SOCIAL DE LA LUCHA CONTRA LA TUBERCULOSIS. Barcelona, Spain.

L'ANARCHIA. Roberto D'Angio. Libertario.

METODA EXPERIMENTALA IN POLITICA. P. Musoiu, Revistei Ideei, Bucuresti, Roumania.

ARCANA COELESTIA. By Emanuel Swedenborg. The American Swedenborg Printing & Publ. Society, New York.

WHO WAS SWEDENBORG AND WHAT ARE HIS WRITINGS? The American Swedenborg Printing & Publ. Society, New York.

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* This fund does not include money donated and expended for the original Kotoku Protest meetings, previous to the organization of the Defence Committee.

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